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HEADQUARTERS NEWS LETTER

NATIONAL·AMERICAN·WOMAN·SUFFRAGE·ASSOCIATION

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VOLUME II NUMBER VII

JULY · 20 · 1916

AN IMPORTANT CHOICE.

SUFFRAGE: "Shall I try a new record or stick to the double disc?"

JAN 30 1917

HEADQUARTERS NEWS LETTER

A printed attempt to maintain intimate contact between the National American Woman Suffrage Association and its thousands of members throughout the country.

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National American Woman Suffrage Association

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Headquarters:
Munsey Building, Washington, D.C.

—:o:—

THE CALL FOR THE FORTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association issues this CALL to its members and friends for the Forty-Eighth Annual Convention to be held in Nixon's Theatre, Atlantic City, New Jersey, September 6th to 10th inclusive, 1916.

Our cause has been endorsed in the platforms of every political party in our land. In order to determine how, most expeditiously, to press these newly won advantages to final victory, the convention is called.

Women workers in every rank of life and in every branch of service, in increasing numbers are appealing for relief from the political handicap of disfranchisement. Older workers in our cause grow weary in the struggle and are longing to see its end; young women are impatiently protesting against the necessity of a life-long campaign to win the tool with which to do life's work.

Meanwhile, under the influence of a nation-wide campaign, newer, truer and clearer ideals concerning woman's relations to the state are rapidly emerging from the slowly disappearing mist of old traditions. Unmistakably, the crisis of our movement has been reached.

A significant and startling fact is urging American women to increased activity in their campaign for the vote. Across our borders three great Canadian provinces have granted universal suffrage to their women within the year. In every thinking American woman's mind the question is revolving: Had our forefathers tolerated the oppressions of autocratic George the Third and remained under the British flag, would the women of the United States to-day, like their Canadian sisters, have found their political emancipation under the more democratic George the Fifth? American men are neither lacking in national pride nor approval of democracy and must, in support of these convictions, hasten the enfranchisement of women. To plan for the final steps which will lead to the inevitable establishment of nation-wide suffrage for the women of our land is the specific purpose of the Atlantic City Convention.

ANNA HOWARD SHAW, *Honorary President.*
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, *President.*
JENNIE BRADLEY ROESSING, *1st Vice-President.*
KATHARINE DEXTER MCCORMICK, *2nd Vice-Pres.*
ESTHER G. OGDEN, *3rd Vice-President.*
EMMA WINNER ROGERS, *Treasurer.*
HANNAH J. PATTERSON, *Corresponding Secretary.*
MARY FOULKE MORRISSON, *Recording Secretary.*
HELEN GUTHRIE MILLER, *1st Auditor.*
PATTIE RUFFNER JACOBS, *2nd Auditor.*

—:o:—

EARLY CONVENTION A NECESSITY.

It was strictly necessary to call the National Convention at an early date. The Board understands fully that the September Convention may prove an inconvenience to some of the state presidents and their workers, since it is a variation from the established rule. The Board would greatly have preferred that the coming meeting should be an Executive Council and Conference, which undoubtedly would have had sufficient authority to determine a political election policy, but before any election tactics can be decided the fundamental policy of the National Association in relation to the Federal Amendment and to State Campaigns must be defined with greater accuracy, and plans made as to how that policy is to be sustained. These are constitutional questions and can only be decided at a meeting which has the authority to amend the Constitution, hence a convention was necessary.

The National Association has always had policies well understood by all its members. A vast increase of sentiment throughout our land, due to the many successful and near successful state campaigns, makes it necessary to re-affirm that policy with such modifications as will make it conform to the new conditions. The National Board feels strongly that the federal campaign has not been supported by the states to the utmost of their capacity. Do the state organizations desire that this shall be done? If so an election policy may become desirable, and even necessary. These fundamental questions could be settled in no other form of meeting than a regularly called convention.

The suffragists who have spoken approve the early convention, but several prominent members have expressed anxiety concerning the election of National officers. Some have requested that another convention shall be held a little later for the purpose of the election of officers. Unfortunately, our Constitution demands that an election

of officers must take place at the annual convention, and that these officers shall take office at the close of the convention. The September convention will have no power to postpone the election until another convention. It will have the authority to call another convention at an unusual date, if it so desires. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

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CONCERNING NON-PARTISANSHIP.

The extensive publicity given to the suffrage cause in the last four months carries with it an enormous amount of misrepresentation of the aims and motives of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. A large number of telegrams and letters have come to us from all parts of the country, asking if it really is true that we are going to "fight the Democrats," and often such queries are accompanied by newspaper clippings announcing that the National Association has deserted its non-partisan attitude and is considering militant party methods.

It is a temptation, when such stories are read in large numbers, to suspect that they may represent part of an organized effort on the part of an unfriendly press to embarrass the suffrage cause as a whole, and its non-militant supporters in particular.

A careful analysis of the thousands of clippings which have come into our office during the past four months, however, tend to indicate that there are comparatively few papers that are really malicious in their opposition to suffrage, or that give evidence of purpose to go out of their way in order to twist and turn stories in an effort to bring discredit upon our cause. Most of the blunders and mix-ups are doubtless due to a combination of carelessness in newspaper offices and their lack of interest in policy differences between suffragists. These differences are very real and important to us, but it will take time to educate the public and the newspapers to a point where they will appreciate that fact and make a serious effort to report suffrage news correctly.

Meanwhile, Fellow Suffragists, beware of these confused press statements and do not allow yourself to be lightly convinced that the National Board has thrown experience, principle, conviction and good sense to the wind, and gone off on a political tangent.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association, in the 48 years of its existence, has maintained a strictly non-partisan attitude. This at times has been somewhat difficult to maintain, yet rarely has an officer of the National Association—and so far as I know, of any state association—failed to live up strictly to the letter of this fundamental principle in the suffrage platform.

Certainly no National Board and no National officer would announce an anti-Democratic policy, or any other variation from the custom of our Association, established by the usage of many years, without the authority of an Annual Convention. No officer has done so; no officer will do so. If the time should ever come when a convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association sincerely considers a policy which is not non-partisan, I predict that it will arouse the liveliest discussion the Association has heard in its 48 years, and that it will end in a re-endorsement of the policy which has won 12 states for suffrage and converted millions of voters to believe in it all over the nation.

At the Atlantic City Convention every phase of every subject which concerns our cause, our policies and our organization may properly be considered. No voice will be silenced; no opinion suppressed; and out of the discussion let us hope our organization will rise with clearer understanding of its own powers and policies, and with a more exalted determination to unite in a big drive toward final victory. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

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EAST CLEVELAND.

On June 6th, the men of East Cleveland, Ohio, voted 2 to 1 to extend the right of municipal franchise to the women of the town. This puts East Cleveland on record as the first town in Ohio to open city politics to the vote of women, and stands as a significant victory in the state.

For four years the women of East Cleveland have been working for equal suffrage, riding over difficulty after difficulty until now at last, all of the women in the town, four thousand of them, may express themselves in the affairs of the municipality.

It was in 1912, when the "Home Rule for Cities" amendment to the state constitution was adopted, that the suffragists in East Cleveland considered their chances for a suffrage clause in the proposed new city charter, and decided to make a campaign for it. The Charter Commission made many successive and strong objections, all of which were met by the suffragists, who among other things produced 1,400 women's signatures to prove that the women did "want the vote." One of these objections, also, had been that the question was unconstitutional, an argument which was met by Miss Florence Allen, a young Cleveland lawyer, who prepared a brief on the subject and finally convinced Cleveland lawyers and the Commission that it was constitutional. Even after the main arguments of the Commission had been answered there were still minor difficulties to be overcome, but the amendment was finally reported out by the sub-committee, adopted by the Commission, and approved wholeheartedly by the voters on June 6th.

Between the adoption by the Commission and the victory of June 6th, however, there was a great deal of stiff campaign work to be done. The Woman Suffrage Party of East Cleveland, under the leadership of Mrs. Charles Brooks, chairman of the amendment committee, and Mrs. N. W. Stroup, local chairman, conducted a remarkably thorough and business-like campaign. Every voter was carefully and systematically canvassed by the members of the suffrage party. The attitude of each voter toward equal suffrage and toward the charter was taken and the voter was interviewed and circularized accordingly. A lively headquarters was maintained on one of the main streets of the town, and public meetings were held regularly.

SUFFRAGE COMFORTS FOR THE BOYS AT THE BORDER

Top picture shows N. Y. suffragists distributing gifts to the guardsmen encamped in Van Cortlandt Park.

In bottom picture Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw is shown passing out gifts and smiles simultaneously.

No sooner had the call been sounded for the National Guard to prepare than the suffragists began preparing too. All kinds of comforts and first aid necessities were immediately mobilized by suffrage organizations for the boys who were even then swarming the streets and armories and marching for train and camp. With a quick, keen interest for the comfort of the guardsmen, suffragists lost no time in making their contributions, and as a result many a lad down on the border is right this minute smoking a pipe of good suffrage tobacco, writing home with a yellow Votes for Women pencil on a Votes for Women postal card, or munching suffrage chocolate.

It was the New York State Woman Suffrage Party that took automobiles on June 30th and drove to Van Cortlandt Park loaded with bundles of useful suffrage reminders,—drinking cups, post cards, pencils, chocolate, etc., all bearing the Votes for Women suggestion. It was quick work to distribute the novelties to the boys in khaki who crowded around the cars extending eager hands, and what with cheering for suffrage and for suffragists and the frank pleasure of the troops at their visit, Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw and the others of the expedition party came away feeling that soldiers were very good suffragists, and that woman's place was in the relief corps.

A few days before that, Mrs. J. O. Miller,

commander-in-chief of the forces of the Equal Franchise Federation of Pittsburgh and the Woman Suffrage Party of Alleghany County, telegraphed the following message to the adjutant general of the second brigade staff at Mt. Gretna:

"Equal Franchise Federation of Pittsburg requests you to transmit to commanding officer and men message that organization will provide boys on the border, of the 18th and other Alleghany County troops, with tobacco during their term of service."

New Jersey suffragists have also been busy since the ordering out of the Guard, their particular activity consisting in Red Cross work. At the June meeting of the State Board of the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association, a resolution was unanimously passed that the Association should recommend its two hundred local branches throughout the state to co-operate with the New Jersey Red Cross Association in work which can be done for our American troops on the Mexican border. Since that recommendation, the local branches have quickly gotten busy with the various phases of Red Cross work. The League of the Oranges had previously sent over $200 to the National Red Cross.

Red Cross benefits are being staged under suffrage auspices, all day meetings are held where suffragists gather to make bandages and assemble kits, money is being raised by energetic suffragists who are putting quite as much spirit into this effort and getting quite as good results as they have experienced in raising money for suffrage. A whole state organization of well trained and resourceful women is thus turned over to Red Cross, and they say that New Jersey is wriggling a bit under the coals of fire heaped on its head so generously by the suffragists.

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ATLANTIC CITY SUMMARIZED

For the benefit of those suffragists who have never been to Atlantic City, the following facts concerning that famous pleasure and health resort have been converted into tabloid form and squeezed into this issue of the News Letter:

Number of yearly visitors	10,000,000
Number of hotels	1,000
Hotel rates, per day	$1 to $20
Churches, all denominations	35
Miles of boardwalk	8
Number of rolling chairs	2,500
Bathers in surf at one time on average day	50,000
Ocean Piers	6
Sailboats, yachts and launches	400
Theatres	21
Time by steam railroads to Philadelphia	1 hour
Time by steam railroads to New York	3 hours

In the August number of the News Letter, full and detailed information concerning hotel rates, transportation, etc., will be given as well as the official program of the N. A. W. S. A. Convention at Atlantic City, September 6—10, inclusive.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

Notice is hereby given that Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, or someone designated by her, will offer the following amendment to the constitution of the National American Woman Suffrage Association at the National Convention in September:

Amend Article 2, by striking out the words "National and" so that the Article when amended will read, "The object of this Association shall be to secure protection, in their right to vote, to the women citizens of the United States, by appropriate State legislation;" and also on motion of Mrs. Catt, the following:

Amend Article 2, by striking out the words "and State" so that when amended the article will read, "The object of this Association shall be to secure protection, in their right to vote, to the women citizens of the United States, by appropriate National legislation:"

Notice is also given that Mrs. Raymond Brown will offer the following amendment:

Amend Article 5, Section 1, by substituting, "The Board of Directors of the Association shall consist of the Honorary President and the Officers of the Association as elected at the annual convention in the manner hereinafter provided:"

Notice is also given that Miss Hannah J. Patterson will offer the following amendment:

Amend Article 3, Section 2, paragraph 1, by inserting after "members," "whose constitution and policy are in harmony with the constitution and policy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association" so that the paragraph when amended shall read, "Any suffrage organization of 200 or more certified members whose constitution and policy are in harmony with the constitution and policy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association may become an Affiliated member;" and also the following:

Amend Article 7, Section 1, paragraph 1, by adding after the word "business" the following sentence, "But no person shall be a member of the Executive Council who holds office in any suffrage organization which does not endorse the policy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association:"

Notice is also given that Mrs. John O. Miller, on behalf of the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association will offer the following amendment:

Amend Article 6, Section 1, paragraph 2, by substituting, "Each of such officers shall serve for the term of two years beginning immediately upon the close of each alternate convention."

Notice is also given that Mrs. Harrison Monro Brown, on behalf of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, will offer the following amendment:

Amend Article 3, Section 2, by substituting, "An affiliated member shall be any suffrage organization of 2,000 or more certified members, and there shall be but one such in each State. (Note—States having more than one affiliated member shall have until Jan. 1, 1917 to adjust matters. The Senior Organization shall continue): and also the following:

Amend Article 3, Section 3, by substituting, "An Associate member shall be any organization of 200 or more certified members which officially endorses woman suffrage providing such member is approved by a two-thirds vote of the Executive Council and upon payment of annual dues of $50.00.

Amend Article 3, Section 4, by substituting, "A Co-operating member shall be any individual who pays annual dues of $10.00.

Amend Article 3, Section 5, by substituting, "A Life member shall be any individual who pays $100.00."

A motion will be offered at the Convention to make any changes necessary in the phraseology of the various sections of the constitution to conform to any of the amendments which may be adopted by the Convention.

HANNAH J. PATTERSON,
Corresponding Secretary.

ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT.

HOW TO ORGANIZE A VOTING PRECINCT.

The precinct, or election division, is the smallest unit in the political division of our government. Upon the effectiveness of the work in the precinct depends the strength or weakness of our organization.

Each precinct should have a captain or leader, who in the beginning is appointed by the leader of the legislative district, ward or town of which the precinct is a part.

The precinct leader's duties should be fully and definitely outlined and it should be clearly understood that if she proves not to be adapted to or successful in the work she will be asked to resign.

The purpose of the precinct work is to educate men and women to a belief in and desire to work for suffrage, so that an organization may be built up which will be effective in campaign.

The precinct captain should, by virtue of her office, be a member of the committee of the political division next in rank to the precinct. In some cases this would be the ward committee, in others the city committee, etc., and to this committee the precinct captain should make regular written reports.

Duties of Precinct Captains.

The precinct captain should secure from her superior officer a statement of the exact boundaries of her precinct, a list of the voters in her precinct and a list of those persons in her precinct already enrolled as members of the suffrage organization.

The precinct should be divided into sections, the number of divisions to depend upon the population. The captain should then call upon the women of her precinct who are already enrolled members, in order to secure helpers. To each helper should be assigned one of the sections into which the precinct is divided.

The captain should acquaint herself fully with the conditions in her precinct, so that she will appoint as her helper in each section a person who will best reach the people of that section. The captain should give helpers definite instructions, should insist upon regular written reports, either monthly or bi-monthiy, and should urge that definite time be given to the work. If there is no regularity to the work or the time given to it there is a big chance that it will not be done at all.

Regular meetings of the precinct captains and helpers should be held every month. In campaign states they should be held every two weeks.

A record should be kept of the attitude toward suffrage of each man and woman in the precinct. For this purpose it is well to use a card system, having a card of one color for a voter and a card of another color for a non-voter, so that the two classes can be easily separated and yet all kept in alphabetical order. On the card the name of each person visited should be recorded with exact address, giving the legislative district, ward and precinct, and opposite the name the attitude should be recorded as "in favor," "indifferent" or "opposed," as the case may be, with the date of the helper's visit.

In campaigns each precinct captain should have for use on election day a poll book in which to list voters' names, political affiliations and attitude toward suffrage. A sample sheet from such a poll book may be secured by applying to the Organization Department.

Every captain should keep a list of every public meeting place in the precinct, such as churches, schoolhouses, libraries, theatres, moving picture houses, etc., and learn under what conditions they may be secured for public meetings.

Work for the year should be planned so that every voter in the precinct will have suffrage brought to his attention at least once a month.

The precinct leader should keep helpers plentifully supplied with good suffrage literature and should see that it is used effectively, not wastefully.

Suggestions for Helpers.

The duty of the helper is to educate to a belief in suffrage every man and woman in her section of the precinct.

This is impossible unless the helper herself is a student of suffrage "History, Arguments and Results." Buy one. Also read the Woman's Journal constantly, the Headquarters' News Letter, and your own state paper or bulletin.

Begin your work by calling upon the women in your section during the day. Try to set aside a regular time each week and then use that time. Don't procrastinate. Make your visit short, do not become involved in disputatious argument and do not try to convert at the first visit. Never antagonize. Leave literature and urge that it be read. Always carry membership cards with you.

After the first canvass of the women has been made, the second canvass should be in the evening when voters also may be seen.

Keep an accurate record of each visit and its result.

Make a written report to your precinct leader as required by her.

Be ready at all times to circularize your section in the interest of any public suffrage meeting if so directed by your leader.

Remember that if every precinct were carefully worked and thoroughly organized no campaign would fail. Let each individual helper do her part.

—:o:—

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

171 Madison Avenue, N. Y.

Please find enclosed 25 cents in stamps to cover the cost of one year's subscription to the Headquarters News Letter to be published once a month.

Name.....

Address.....

.....

WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH GEORGIA?

In the adjoining column a bona fide ballot from Georgia is reproduced. This is not a ticket prepared to make voting easy for illiterate negroes whose supremacy Georgia declares she dreads. **It is a ballot for the white man's primary.**

Why is such a ballot necessary?

Because Georgia has 20.7 of illiteracy.

What is Georgia doing to reduce its illiteracy?

It has no compulsory education law and spends less per child on education in its public schools than any State in the Union with the exception of Alabama, Missouri, North Carolina and South Carolina. Its school attendance is lower than that of any state in the Union except Missouri and Maryland.

What kind of civilization is produced by this male electorate with its fifteenth century illiteracy?

After Texas and Alabama it has the largest number of child workers of any State. Children at fourteen may work and over fourteen and a half may work at night. If poverty is claimed, a child of twelve may work. As a matter of fact **the majority of working children in Georgia are under fourteen years.**

Ten hours per day is the limit for children's work. Ten hours per day is the limit for women, and night work is permitted.

The age of consent is ten years.

Georgia is one of three States which has no white slave laws. Nor does it boast an injunction and abatement act.

Are white women content under this condition? An official communication from the Federation of Women's Clubs to the Atlanta *Constitution* last Spring, reads: "The Georgia Legislature has ended its official session. What has been accomplished that the Federation of Women's Clubs was pledged to support?

"No compulsory education measure was passed.

"The permissive kindergarten bill was adversely reported.

"The age of consent remains ten years.

OFFICIAL BALLOT

FOR RICHMOND COUNTY
JUNE 7th, 1916

WHITE DEMOCRATIC STATE PRIMARY

(Voters should erase names of all candidates for whom he does not desire to vote.)

FOR SHERIFF
(Vote for one)

J. T. PLUNKETT

R. J. PARKS

FOR SOLICITOR CITY COURT
(Vote for one)

W. I. CURRY

J. J. FOSTER

For County Commissioner from the City
(Vote for one)

Jas. T. Gardiner

S. P. LANGLEY

FOR ORDINARY, R. C.
(Vote for one)

B. B. McCOWEN

Alexander R. Walton

For County Commissioner from the Country
(Vote for one)

W. H. Rennison

C. J. SKINNER

J. O. Lawrence

F. H. TURNER

"There is no increased appropriation for the Home for Wayward Girls.

"No compulsory school attendance bill was passed."

The white women of Georgia asked for all of those things, but their requests were not backed up by the direct influence of the ballot.

The State University of Georgia does not admit women. A few women have been allowed to take Post Graduate courses and have received degrees. The trustees, feeling doubtful as to the legality of these degrees, applied to the present legislature to ask the passage of a bill enabling women to attend the University for post graduate work only. *The legislature has just defeated that bill, giving as their reasons that their old-fashioned and traditional theories as to woman's sphere forbi i it.*

Georgia has just refused to allow women to practice law.

Do Georgia women want suffrage?

Last winter in Atlanta a canvass of women was made and 5,000 white educated women who need no emblems on ballots to guide them in locating the names of candidates, signed a statement that they want to vote.

A letter from one of the suffrage presidents in Georgia recently received, says, "Our Legislature is in session and I have been disappointed to find anti-suffrage sentiment among the legislators as strong as ever." No wonder the Georgia delegation in Congress, senators and members are recorded as opposed to the Federal Amendment! No wonder twenty-three and a half as against four and a half votes were cast in St. Louis to take the suffrage plank out of the Democratic platform.

What is the matter with Georgia?

The answer is easy. **It is governed by ignorance, illiteracy, vice and prejudice.** The aforementioned facts prove it. It enfranchises the man who can only vote by means of pictures and disfranchises the educated woman.

(Continued on page 10.)

THE DATA DEPARTMENT.

By Mary Sumner Boyd.

MALE SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES

(*Concluded.*)

Thus the power of the government is to be transferred from the forty thousand who have the greatest interests at stake, to the sixty thousand who have comparatively but little interest."

"It is no idle chimera of the brain that the possession of land furnishes the strongest evidence of permanent common interest with and attachment to the community. Much has already been said by gentlemen on both sides, demonstrating the powerful influence of local attachment upon the conduct of man, and I cannot be made to comprehend how that passion could be more effectually brought into action than by a consciousness of the fact that he is the owner of a spot which he can emphatically call his Home."

The memorial of the propertyless to the Virginia Constitutional Convention demanded the right to vote on the ground of the terms of the Constitution itself. They went back to the neglected principles of its Bill of Rights.

"Experience," says the Memorial, "has but too clearly evinced, what indeed reason had always foretold, by how frail a tenure they hold every other right, who are denied this, the highest prerogative of freemen. . . .Comprising a very large part, perhaps a majority of male citizens of mature age, they have been passed by like aliens or slaves, as if destitute of interest or unworthy of a voice in measures involving their future political destiny; whilst the freeholders have seized upon the sovereign authority.

"To that privilege. . .they are entitled equally with the present possessors. Many are bold enough to deny their title. None can show a better. It rests upon no subtle or abstruse reasoning, but upon grounds simple in their character, intelligible to the plainest capacity and such as appeal to the heart as well as the understanding of all who comprehend and duly appreciate the principles of free government, for in the great charter. . . .of Virginia, we are taught:—

"That all men are by nature free and independent; that all power is vested in the people; that a majority hath a. . . right to alter or abolish the government; that no man. . .is entitled to exclusive. . .privileges; that all men having sufficient evidence of permanent common interest with and attachment to the community have a right of suffrage and cannot be taxed or deprived of their property without due consent or consent of their representative, nor bound by any law to which they have nor in like manner assented for the common good."

The result of this debate was an extension of the franchise in Virginia, though it was not granted all white males until 1850.

In the Thirties, Pennsylvania lowered her property qualifications, though she did not remove them entirely except for native born Americans, till 1901, while Michigan and Arkansas came into the Union without property requirements. In the 40's Florida, Texas and Wisconsin became states, all without property discrimination.

While the thinly populated new states were offering to colonists the inducements of liberal naturalization and short residence requirements, those to which immigration had been rapid had been trying to oust the outsider. The Know-Nothing or Native American Movement belongs to this period.

The suffrage history of Rhode Island in 1840-1842 is not only representative of the struggle against the property franchise, but it gives some indication of the amount of immigration in that period to some centers in the United States, and the movement there for a broader franchise shows in its outcome a trace of the spirit of "Native Americanism."

Rhode Island as a state had been governed under the charter of colonial days, which laid down as a condition of the right to vote the ownership of land to the value of $134. In the meantime conditions had changed since the charter was given. After the tariff law of 1816 the population became largely propertyless factory workers, both native and immigrant, who created the wealth of the state but had no part in the government. Agitation for a broader franchise centers around the remarkable personality of Thomas Dorr, who for a period actually headed a revolution in Rhode Island.

In the 20's a petition was presented to the Assembly, to which this body replied: "Our ancestors limited the franchise to the sound part of the community, the substantial freeholders of the state." They rejected the petition and took the occasion to denounce democracy as a curse. Dorr persisted in his educational work until in 1840 the Rhode Island Suffrage Association was formed, which issued the following circular to the people:

> "Our first appeal is to Heaven for the justice of our cause. Next to the whole people of Rhode Island. . . . through the medium of the ballot box. Next to the General Assembly of the state. These failing, our final resort shall be to the Congress of the United States. . . . and if need be, to the Supreme Judicial Power to test the force and meaning of that provision in the Constitution which guarantees to every state in the Union a republican form of government."

Mass meetings were held and processions, with banners bearing inscriptions: "Worth makes the man, but sand and gravel the voter;" "Virtue, patriotism and intelligence *vs.* $134 worth of dirt."

A people's convention was called which framed a constitution giving the vote to every male citizen of the United States, twenty-one years old and residing in the state one year. 23,142 people voted on this constitution, which was adopted by a yea vote of 13,944. This was not a very large number out of a population of 109,000, but it was enough to disturb the General Assembly.

The constitution thus adopted by a popular vote was rejected by the Assembly, which passed laws forbidding elections under the People's Constitution. Elections were held, nevertheless, and Dorr was elected Governor. He appealed to Congress but received no support. Civil war followed, martial law was declared, and after a little fighting the rebellion, having no army or resources behind it, fell away. Dorr was arrested and sent to serve a life sentence for treason, but popular indignation was so great that he was released in a year, the legislature reversing its own sentence.

In 1842 the General Assembly re-submitted the People's Constitution, with the concession to Know-Nothing influence that the propertyless voter must be native born. The constitution was adopted. In 1888 the property qualification for foreign born American citizens was removed. So that, unsuccessful as it seemed at the time, Dorr's rebellion was in effect a successful revolution. Dorr died soon after.

"To the cause of enlarged suffrage," says his biographer, "and hence to the cause of human freedom, Dorr made sacrifice of professional and political advancement, of family and social sympathy, and ultimately of life itself."

In elections on tax propositions and for City Councillors, Rhode Island has still a property qualification, as do some other states on school or tax propositions, but for all other elections property is not a requirement.

This was perhaps the most truly popular of all the state struggles for the franchise. The enfranchised were thoroughly appreciative of the right they had gained, and yet the figures for presidential votes immediately before and after the extension of the franchise should give food for thought to those who talk about the "indifferent female voter who tires of the exercise of her new right." For while the votes of 1844 (12,305) showed a little less than 50% increase on that of 1840 (8,621), that of 1848 was 11,155, an actual falling off since 1844, and that in a period during which population had increased 16%.

In all the state suffrage histories we have traced so far, once the colonial religious qualifications were done away with, property has been the theme. After the Rhode Island rebellion it becomes less important. North and South Carolinas did not completely wipe out their early property discrimination until shortly before the Civil War and Virginia, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania retained

vestiges still longer. California, Kansas, North Carolina, Minnesota and, except in elections creating indebtedness, Utah and Idaho now prohibit property qualifications. No states that came into the union after 1840 have made property a condition of voting citizenship.

A few southern states where property qualifications have been revived for the special purpose of race discrimination alone perpetuate the property franchise in general elections; a few states lay down a property requirement for voters in elections on tax or school matters.

The poll tax, a tax on the individual, not on his property, has been discussed in an earlier News Letter.* In only a few states is its payment a requirement for the voter as such; but in a number of others the voter is required to furnish proof that he has discharged this obligation; in other words, has prepaid a debt which he would have to meet whether a voter or not.

The foreigner and the negro gradually became the problem of the Constitution, the foreigners being made welcome by western and mid-western states, the negro being rejected as a citizen by the southern group. Except for the three colonies which denied the negro the suffrage at the outbreak of the Revolution, he was not disturbed in his citizenship until the Northwestern Territory was organized under an ordinance which denied him the vote.

Between the last decade of the 18th Century and the 40's Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, Tennessee, Connecticut, New Jersey and Pennsylvania disfranchised the negro. All the states formed from the Northwestern Territory carried over its race restrictions. All new southern states having slavery, prohibited negro suffrage, and even far away Oregon, when it became a state in 1859, limited the vote to whites. By 1861 negroes could vote only in Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and if property holders, in New York.

In 1870 the 15th amendment was ratified and all white restrictions became inoperative in state constitutions, even where the states did not go to the trouble of amending. It is a curious fact that among the amendments "voted upon but not passed" in Ohio in 1912 is one "to strike out the word white" in the suffrage clause.

For fifteen years or so after the 15th amendment the negro vote was used as a means of power in the South by the unscrupulous northern Republican Carpet-Baggers. The free voting negro came to represent to the southerner not merely the slave free and equal with his master but the hated northern bullying and exploiting of the South.

In this intolerable situation every means was deemed justifiable to keep the negro from the polls. The Louisiana constitution of 1879 was so framed as to ensure few negroes voting. Violence and fraud were used at first, but these means proving unsatisfactory, between about 1890 and 1907 an elaborate system of constitutional amendments laying down alternative tests was worked out, which has in some states cut down the negro vote to 5% of adult males. Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina and Virginia have the most elaborate provisions.

Chief among these alternatives, of which one or more had to be fulfilled in the various states, were property qualifications, the "grandfather clause," special poll tax requirements, educational and moral tests. Alabama, Louisiana and South Carolina require among their alternatives property to the amount of $300; Georgia requires $500. In six southern states the poll tax is used as another means of complicating voting requirements, so that the slow-witted negro will, as often as possible, find himself ineligible. Thus Alabama requires proof that all polls have been paid since 1901, Georgia that all taxes assessed since 1877 have been paid, and the requirements of Virginia, South Carolina, Louisiana and Mississippi are only less difficult to fulfill.

Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, Oklahoma and Virginia provided, some of them, that voters or descendants of voters before the Civil War, others, that soldiers in that War or their descendants, should be subject to no other tests. In some states this was a temporary measure, registration under the clause ending at a certain date. In the others there was no time limit.

"The Grandfather Clause," says A. B. Hart, "is the purely American form of hereditary aristocracy." Together with vexatious property, educational, moral and other discriminations, he estimates that in some states it has disfranchised all the negroes and from 30,000 to 60,000 poor whites. In general, in the south only somewhere between 4 to 10% of the population are now voters.

In June, 1915, the first blow was struck at the Grandfather Clause by the Federal Supreme Court decision that this section of the Oklahoma Constitution was at variance with the 15th amendment of the Federal Constitution. The decision says in part:

> "A provision in a state constitution recurring to conditions existing before the adoption of the 15th amendment and the continuance of which conditions that amendment prohibited, and making those conditions the test of the right to the suffrage, is in conflict with and void under, the 15th Amendment."
>
> "The Grandfather Clause incorporates by reference the laws of those states which in terms excluded negroes from the franchise on January 1, 1866, because of race, color or previous condition of servitude, and so itself impliedly excludes them for the same reason."
>
> "If, therefore, the date fixed.... had been 1871, or after the adoption of the 15th amendment, instead of 1866".... (the clause would have been constitutional).
>
> "Its effect is to exclude practically *all* illiterate negroes and practically *no* illiterate white men, and, from this its unconstitutional purpose may be inferred."
>
> "Census statistics show that the proportion of negroes qualified under the test imposed by the Grandfather Clause is as inconsiderable as the proportion of whites thereby disqualified."

The number of negroes in Oklahoma is small in comparison with the whites, so it is odd that the matter came to an issue in that state, but the decision is as final as if it had come up in the courts of those other southern states where the negro population equals or outnumbers the white.

Difficult educational tests and moral requirements too vague to fulfill in cases where they were actually pressed, are other means by which the negro was disfranchised.

The early educational qualifications were not adopted by southern states or aimed against the negro. Connecticut in 1818 set the first educational test, which was for bona fide educational purposes. The first of the later provisions were directed against the foreigner. We have seen that after the 40's Rhode Island and Pennsylvania made it harder for him to vote than for the native-born, by a property discrimination. Connecticut made hers more stringent and Rhode Island and Massachusetts imposed an educational test for the same purpose.

Two other classes of educational test came into the constitutions in the 90's and the beginning of this century. One class in some eastern and far western states was for the same purpose as the early Connecticut amendment and was supplemented by a fairly good system of free education, a compulsory education law and a small percentage of illiteracy.

The other is part of the attempt of the southern states to disfranchise the negro. It goes along with bad public educational facilities and a very large percentage of illiteracy. The fact that it has no educational purpose is brought out in some of the southern states by the captious and difficult character of some of the tests, which would tax a quick-witted man to perform. Louisiana requires a 75-word written application for registration; Virginia, a written application giving the voter's history for two years previous and his previous vote. Mississippi not only requires the reading of a section of the constitution, but a "reasonable interpretation thereof."

The states whose purpose is bona fide educational require merely that the voter be able to read a section of the constitution and to write his name. But even so, there is something that appeals to one's sense of democracy in the provision with which New Mexico came into the Union in 1912:

> "The right of any citizen to vote shall not be restricted abridged or impaired on account of religion, race, language or color, or inability to speak, read or write the English or Spanish language."

This recalls what Professor Cooley says of the ignorant vote: "The rule of the many need not be the rule of ignorance, unless they are not only ignorant but fools."

In most states idiots and the insane are disqualified in specific terms; in all they are in practice.

*May 1916.

WANTED—GOOD PUBLICITY!

Good Publicity may be divided into two classes:—

1. That which is produced by taking advantage of current news and linking up the suffrage cause to some big news feature of the day, and—

2. That which is the result of created ideas.

Samples of the first type of publicity may be found almost daily in the newspapers of all sections of the country where the suffrage organizations are alert and on their jobs. An excellent illustration was staged in Pennsylvania last year immediately following Governor Brumbaugh's "Good Roads" proclamation. Being just as interested as their men in having the roads of the State improved, Pennsylvania suffragists at once offered to co-operate in the movement by supplying lunches to all volunteer workmen who responded to the Governor's call on Good Roads Day. The newspapers of the State treated this suffrage activity most kindly, not only featuring it in their news columns, but commending it editorially as well.

No suffrage organization, either State or National however, should depend entirely upon its ability to take advantage of the psychological moment for all of its publicity. As a foundation for each year's campaign there should be a carefully planned program containing at least twelve picturesque demonstrations which, when properly carried out, may be converted into good publicity. In other words there should be a day set aside each month for some form of suffrage demonstration in every State in the Union. Moreover, this demonstration should be kept as uniform as possible in all States in order to produce the best and most accumulative results.

To help make this kind of publicity possible and incidently to stimulate suffrage activity all over the country, the executive Board of the National American Woman Suffrage Association recommends as a part of the constructive policy for the coming year the adoption of a uniform monthly Propaganda Demonstration for all States. These demonstrations should be designed to stimulate education, organization and campaign activity. For example, there is a national suffrage day in May which, when properly planned for, has been exceedingly prolific in good results. A definite, well-carried out plan for each month would increase the momentum of suffrage in this country twelvefold.

There is no limit to the form which these monthly demonstrations may take, providing, of course, that they are dignified and picturesque, rather than merely sensational. There is a difference between good publicity and cheap notoriety. Good publicity makes friends. By the same token, cheap notoriety, although it will frequently win more space in the columns of the papers, makes enemies. The National American Woman Suffrage Association is confident, however, that there are enough big brains in the state associations affiliated with it to create for us twelve monthly ideas for suffrage demonstrations each year which will produce thousands of columns of the right kind of publicity. It, therefore, invites the owners of these brains to get busy at once and make some suggestions for such demonstrations.

Write the details fully and carefully. Place them in an envelope and place your name and address in a similar envelope. On the outside of both write the following, filling in the name of the month and the name of the State:

PROPAGANDA DEMONSTRATION

For Month of.....

From State of.....

These suggestions will be presented to the Propaganda Demonstration Committee at the National Convention to be held at Atlantic City, September 6—10, 1916. That committee will determine what suggestions to present to the convention. If the plan is adopted and a demonstration program is agreed to, the National Publicity Department will then co-operate with all the State organizations in the carrying out of that program so that the fullest advantage may be taken of the ideas supplied.

We have the chance of a life time to increase suffrage publicity at least a hundredfold in this country during the next twelve months. It is up to us.

Get busy. Think of one demonstration that will be adaptable for nation-wide use and forward your suggestion to Hannah J. Patterson, 171 Madison Avenue, New York City.

WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH GEORGIA?

(*Continued from page 7.*)

It gives the vote to the man who is content to have the virtue of a ten year old child stripped of legal protection and denies it to the virtuous woman. It gives the vote to the slave-driving employer who works little children for profit and denies it to the mothers who know that no nation is strong which doesn't give the children a chance to grow. There men without education are kings; women with education are subjects; and are forced to bow the suppliant knee in vain petition to secure conditions which any State in any land in the twentieth century should be ashamed not to possess.

Let's help the women of Georgia.

—:o:—

In the Democratic Convention at St. Louis a minority report was presented from the Resolutions Committee signed by four men: Governor Ferguson of Texas, Mr. Barkley of Georgia, Mr. Fleming of New York and Mr. Nugent of New Jersey. It is an interesting query to ask why these men tried to eliminate from the Democratic platform the proposed suffrage plank. What is the matter with their respective States that they should be represented by such reactionaries? We make the query for Georgia in this number and we will take up the other states in the next issue.

PROGRESS OF THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE

64TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Conferring upon Women the Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

History of Amendment.

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878 by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

In the Senate:

1878, Adverse majority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1890, Without recommendation.
1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Without recommendation.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.
March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

IN THE HOUSE REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE,

January 12,1915; yeas 174, nays 204.

Introduced in the 64th Congress

IN THE SENATE,

December 7, 1915, by Senator Sutherland, of Utah, Senator Thomas, of Colorado, and Senator Thompson, of Kansas.
Referred in the Senate to Committee on Woman Suffrage. Reported in the Senate on January 8, with a favorable recommendation.

IN THE HOUSE,

December 6, 1915, by Representatives Raker, Mondell, Keating, Taylor and Hayden.
Referred in the House to the Judiciary Committee, and by it to its sub-committee No. 1.
Reported to the Judiciary Committee by the sub-committee on February 15, 1916, with recommendation that the Judiciary Committee report it to the House without recommendation. By a vote of 9 to 7 on February 15, the Judiciary Committee returned the amendment to sub-committee No. 1 with instructions to hold until December 14. On March 14, the Judiciary Committee by unanimous consent agreed to take final Committee action on the amendment on March 28. On March 28, the Judiciary Committee by a vote of 10 to 9 postponed indefinitely all Constitutional amendments.

Status:

IN THE SENATE,
On the calendar awaiting action.

IN THE HOUSE,
In the Judiciary Committee.

THE CONGRESSIONAL SITUATION.

The June News Letter was properly so devoted to the "Victory of the Planks" that the Congressional report was omitted. As there was no action on our federal amendment in Congress during May, the omission was not serious. Early in June most of the members of the Committee hurried to Chicago to assist with the National's drive there and then moved on to St. Louis to take the last trench! Miss Martha Norris of Ohio remained at our post in Washington lest any surprises should befall us at that point. None did.

In accordance with the decision of your National Board at the special meeting in St. Louis, when it was determined to immediately proceed upon Washington, Mrs. Catt, Miss Patterson and Miss Mary G. Hay of New York, Vice-Chairman of the Committee, soon joined your Chairman at the Capitol. On June 27th we met at an informal conference with the Senators from the enfranchised states. The meeting occurred in the office of Senator Shafroth of Colorado, who had extended the invitation to the other Senators on our behalf. Every man present offered his assistance to the National in securing a vote at this session. The heavy congestion of legislation including emergency measures and the desire for an early adjournment of Congress make it difficult to secure time for the consideration of our measure, but the Senators agreed that by wise and co-ordinate action a vote upon it could be had. The National representatives consented to have the vote delayed, having the time for it depend upon the adjournment of Congress. We did stipulate, however, that we were not willing to delay indefinitely to the point where it would be impossible to get a vote at this session, since the National is sincere in its desire to have Congress act at this session.

At present writing the time for adjournment has not been fixed. The guesses are between August 1st and September 1st.

Meanwhile we are making every effort to have the Judiciary Committee of the House report our measure out of Committee favorably. The fact that we secured the planks in the National platforms has shown our opponents on this Committee that the interest in woman suffrage is nation-wide, and must be recognized.

Although our new planks in the two National party platforms do not specifically endorse the federal amendment, they do not declare against it. Leading Senators argue that the platforms are both silent on the federal amendment and men are free to vote in Congress as they may determine on our measure. The planks will inevitably be of great value in the states and through the progress there will help the federal work because every man in Congress, Senate or House, is in the last analysis keenly sensitive to the strength of the movement in his district and state. Since both planks endorse woman suffrage they should be used as levers to secure **endorsements of the principle** of suffrage in state platforms. No state party is likely to take action contrary to its National platform, particularly in a presidential year. Therefore if either of the political conventions in a state